1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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There are a large number of effigies that, for want of a better name, most Wisconsin archeologists have called "turtle" mounds. No explanations can be offered of these peculiar effigies unless they are attempts to picture fish or are altered water-spirit mounds. The Winnebago had no turtle clan, but the turtle plays an important part in their mythology.

Perhaps the most peculiar effigy mounds are the famous "Man" mounds, of which only two examples are in existence, and the so-called "intaglios." Good descriptions of both types have been given.[1]

The two "Man" mounds have generally been regarded as inexplicable or connected with some prehistoric rite, and it seemed useless to attempt any explanation. As there seemed to be no reason why these mounds might not fall into the same category as the clan mounds, the writer took the opportunity of inquiring about them among the older Winnebago. A number of the people asked knew nothing about them, but, fortunately, two very old members of the tribe interpreted them, as soon as they were described, as representations of the Warrior or Hawk clan. As this clan belonged to the Bird phratry, no one had ever looked for any but bird emblems.

No information has been obtained from living Winnebago that could throw any light on the "intaglio" mounds. We wish, however, to hazard a suggestion as to their possible meaning. "The intaglio effigies," to quote Mr. Brown, "may be described as being the reverse of the ordinary effigy mounds. They are excavated out of the soil instead of erected upon it, the earth removed from the shallow excavation being heaped up with care along the edges, giving form and prominence to the animal shapes depicted."[2] The Winnebago frequently placed symbols referring to water deities under water, and, as 10 of the 12 intaglios that have been described belong unquestionably to the Water-spirit clan, it may have been customary to keep these "intaglios" filled with water. The discovery of two supposedly Bear "intaglios" militates against this suggestion. However, according to the Bear clan legends, the ancestors of that clan came from the water, as did likewise those of the Wolf and Buffalo clans.

We now come to the most unsatisfactory problem of our area—namely, the nature and significance of the linear mounds. The various types have been best described by Mr. A. B. Stout and we will do best to quote him *in extenso*:

> The principal classes of linear mounds are as follows:
> The pure linear type is a straight wall-like mound of uniform width and height. They are usually about 2½ feet in height and from 10 to 20 feet in width. Some are as

[1] "The Preservation of the Man Mound," in vol. 7, no. 4, of the Wisconsin Archeologist, and "The Intaglio Mounds of Wisconsin," in vol 8, no. 1, of the same journal; both papers by C. Brown.
[2] Cf. Wisconsin Archeologist, vol. 8, no. 1, p. 8.

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# CHAPTER V

## BURIAL AND FUNERAL CUSTOMS

764 There appear to have been two distinct methods of burial among the Winnebago—simple inhumation and platform burial. Within recent times, owing to the influence of their Algonquian neighbors, [777] platform burial has entirely disappeared and inhumation alone is practiced. It has even become customary to erect a typical Algonquian burial-hut over the grave (*see* pl. 54, *b*).

[615] When the old culture was still intact inhumation was definitely associated with the lower phratry and platform burial with the upper phratry. Whether this marked difference in burial customs was merely another example of that specialization in function so characteristic of these two divisions of the tribe, or whether it was due to distinct historical origins, it is difficult to determine. I am, however, inclined to regard the latter interpretation as by far the most probable.

[614 184] All the customs are described in full detail in the various accounts that follow and in Chapters VII and VIII. Each clan seems to have had a few details peculiar to itself, but, in the main, the rights were identical. They may briefly be divided into the following sections:

1. Preparation of the body for burial. 2. Rites in the house of the deceased, consisting mainly of speeches of consolation to the bereaved. 3. Speeches addressed to the deceased and the narration of the myth of the journey to spirit land. 4. Rites at the grave. 5. The recounting of war exploits by specially invited warriors, at the grave. 6. The elaborate four nights wake at the home of the deceased.

### Description of Funeral Customs and Wake

[915 644] Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan:[1] When an individual dies his relatives get some one to bury him and the chief mourner will also invite some person to talk to the corpse before it is buried. The person addressing the dead man or woman tells the deceased how he is to go (to spirit land) and what he is to do on the way there. The body is then dressed by the person who is going to bury it. All the relatives come to the lodge and the deceased is dressed in his best clothes; beads are put around his neck, bracelets on his wrist, rings

[1] This description is a generalized one.

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765 mourner's hair, give him presents, and tell him that he is now free to cease mourning and to marry if he wishes.

In former times the period of mourning is supposed to have lasted four years.

[302] When a person is in mourning he always cuts his hair short and does not comb his hair. In former times people often mutilated themselves by cutting off either entire fingers or finger joints.

[304] The overseer always takes all the belongings of the deceased, but he must give the latter's relatives an equal amount of new material.

## FUNERAL CUSTOMS OF THE THUNDERBIRD CLAN

(FIRST VERSION)

764 184 614 Informant, member of the clan. When a member of the clan dies they send after a man of the Thunderbird clan who is to speak to the corpse, paint it, and give him a war club to take along with him (to the land of the spirits). Then they go after a man from the [615] lower phratry to bury him, for these clans (of the lower phratry) belong on earth and they have the right to dig into the ground and bury people.

When the one who is to be the general overseer arrives and arranges everything, he prepares the corpse, putting a sack of tobacco in one hand and a war club in the other. Then he paints him. He paints the forehead with a red and a black mark and paints the lower part of the face to the end of the nose with scattered dots. He paints the jaw red and he makes a red mark across the mouth and the throat. Then he speaks as follows:

[775 539] You have departed at this (young) age. You have taken your relatives by surprise and have left them a long part of your life (i. e., you have lived but a small part of your apportioned share of years). As you go to spirit land, you will find on the road many feathers, many good plants, and many good kinds of clay, scattered around, the blue clay, the red clay, and the white clay. You will also find the sweet-smelling plants and good life. For all these things do you ask. If anything comes across your path, throw it behind you without looking around. In four days you will depart and objects with which to mediate between us and the spirits will soon be furnished you. For four nights your people will tell you what to do and when they hear you singing on the road they will know that it is you. There (in spirit land) you will go to live and the songs that I will sing you will sing as you travel on your road.

Then he sings (the four clan songs).

When the gravediggers are finished they take the body and carry it to the grave, the mourners following. They take the body to the grave and there lower it.

## DEATH AND FUNERAL CUSTOMS OF THE THUNDERBIRD CLAN

(SECOND VERSION)

Informant, member of the clan. When a member of the Thunderbird clan dies, the clansmen discuss what is to be done for the spirit

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721 When a man went on a warpath for the sake of glory he generally led a large party and all sorts of special arrangements were made, because then a war leader was necessary and volunteers were always needed. It is believed that the same holds true for larger war parties.

In discussing the essential requisite for a successful war party we have stated that a special blessing was necessary for this purpose. There is, however, one noteworthy exception to this rule, if we are [614 to accept the statements of members of the upper phratry—all mem- 615] bers of the Warrior clan may go on a warpath without fasting and without receiving a blessing. This statement was vigorously denied by members of the lower phratry.

727 When a war party returns, a very interesting ceremony takes place. At some distance from the village a victorious war party sends a messenger ahead to tell all those at home that the war party has been unsuccessful and that all have been killed, and that those at home should put on mourning. Secretly, however, the leader tells someone to look for a pole for the Victory dance, and shortly after all the preparations for mourning have been made the victorious warriors rush into the village. Before entering the village that warrior who [555] has counted first coup is offered a pipe, from which he always takes a few puffs. The same pipe is then handed to the one who counted coup second, and so on, until the fourth man is reached. Then the prizes (*waizuwe*) are given to the victors, who afterwards give them to their sisters. The scalps are not taken into the village, but are left outside, and warriors who have remained at home rush out to count coup upon them. Then the scalps are carried around the village four times.

535 The widely-known Plains custom of "counting coup" is also
726 practiced among the Winnebago. The individual who strikes the dead body of the enemy first obtains the first honor, the one striking it second the second honor, the one striking it third the third honor, and the one who actually killed the enemy obtaining the fourth and least important honor.

721 The following are descriptions given in the words of the informants:

[115] *Description of war customs and the manner of conducting a war party.*—Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan.

When a man is ready to go on the warpath, he looks around for as many men as he wishes to take along and then gives a feast. At the feast he fixes the time at which the war party is to start. The man giving the feast (i. e., the leader of the war party) would get up and tell those present that he intended going on a warpath and give his reason; then he would say that whosoever so desired could come along.

Many went along. Indeed, there was quite a crowd. The first stopping place (*hiŋiyere*) was always near the outskirts of the village. There the leader appointed four men to go after food and wood for the fire. During their absence two camping places would be arranged, one on each side of the war leader. As soon as the four men returned with the food the attendants skinned and prepared the animals for

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bago told the author that long ago a young man wanted to marry a girl belonging to his phratry and refused to listen to the entreaties of his father and mother. Finally the father, in desperation, went over to the lodge of a man belonging to one of the clans into which the young man could marry and asked for one of the sacred possessions. It was, of course, refused, and when the man was asked what other requests he wished to make, he asked that the host's daughter be allowed to marry his son. This was, of course, granted, and thus the boy was compelled to marry into the proper phratry. 614 613 582 778

One Winnebago interpreted the custom in an entirely different way. Exactly how much importance is to be attached to this explanation it is hard to say. According to this informant, the insult lay not in going to the fireplace or taking a firebrand, but in asking for it. The insult apparently consists in not taking it for granted that anyone entering the lodge was permitted to do what he wished. In other words, his asking was a breach of etiquette. 614 372 689 [576]

The typical method of burial in the Thunderbird clan was scaffold burial. It has long since been discontinued.

The burial customs seem to have been the same for all the clans. It may, however, be that in former times there were slight differences. For instance, in the first version of the Thunderbird clan origin myth the statement is made that the branch of a tree was placed at the grave and a small stick, painted red, attached to it. The author has no recollection of ever hearing the same statement made in connection with any other of the clans. 614 764 [184]

There are four songs associated with the Thunderbird clan. These are supposed to have been sung by the clan ancestors when they came to this earth, and are now always sung when a member of the clan dies, and on a few other occasions. 614 [333]

According to one informant, members of the Elk, Warrior, Deer, and Buffalo clans acted as servants to the Thunderbird clan on various occasions. The same informant also claimed that the Warrior clansmen took specific orders from the Thunderbird clansmen when on the warpath. [554]

According to another informant, Thunderbird marks at death are a half circle on the forehead, made with charcoal. The proper marking is, however, that shown in plate 46. [765]

Two dog names used in the Thunderbird clan are obtained—*pi°zakirutega; ka-iwakitca°ga.*

The only feast specifically connected with the Thunderbird clan was the so-called chief feast, of which a description will be found on page 318. One of the divisions of the war-bundle feast is often considered as sacred to the thunderbird, but this is always the deity thunderbird, not the ancestor of the clan. [796] [776]

5: McKern E-5 (1927) 1929
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796 from the sacred fire. When the pipe was well lit, the waiter carried
276 it to the next man, and so on, passing clockwise about the lodge. Each man puffed several times at the pipe before passing it on. The women
[562] were excluded from participating in this ceremony, as were the leader and his three musicians. The waiters did not actually participate in any part of the entire ceremony, other than in their official capacity.

Before the next song was started, the head waiter carefully cleaned out the pipe, refilled it and placed it again over the bundle. All the tobacco cleaned from the bowl was disposed of in the sacred fire.

This same procedure, from speech to pipe, was repeated four times, although each group of songs was different.

796 Two men were now selected, one representing that group of clans
615 comprising the upper world phratry, the other the lower world phratry.
264 They seated themselves in the center of the lodge with a wooden bowl between them. In this bowl were placed the two portions of meat from the pots suspended from the lodge ceiling. At a given signal, each began to devour his allotted share of the meat as rapidly as possible. The phratry whose side wins in this eating contest will have good luck when next it takes the warpath.

796 The leader then told the dream experience of the original bundle
787 holder and said a few words thanking all for their participation. One of the waiters then proceeded to replace the contents of the bundle, roll it up, tie it and place it against the wall just back of the leader.

796 It was now time for the war-bundle feast, which consisted solely of
574 meat boiled with a few beans. Each pot had been dedicated to a certain spirit or order of spirits, but since these were not materially present to do proper justice to the occasion, the honored guests had to represent them in receiving and disposing of the food. One pot was placed before each of these leaders, and the contents were distributed under his direction to the men of his party. Other meat was supplied for the women and children of the group which he represented. The chief honored guest received the pot dedicated to Creator. On such occasions, one must eat all that is set before him, since the food is consecrated.

574 It should be noted here that Mr. Fisher has certain marked tastes in
114 food. He is not particularly fond of meat of any kind, dislikes beef particularly and dislikes boiled beef the most of all. His predicament can well be imagined, therefore, when a large portion of boiled beef was placed before him with the understanding that none must be wasted. Fortunately, one may broadcast a call for outside help on such occasions without trespassing against the rules of the ceremony. Very piteously, then, did Fisher make his plea to me. Knowing that the night spirit dance with a vegetable feast was to follow, he promised to eat the greater share of the vegetables apportioned to us if I would agree to do double duty on the meat. Out of the kindness of my heart, and also because I prefer boiled beef to boiled dried squash, I agreed to do this. Nor did